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ABSTRACT
OF THE
HISTORY OF THE CLERGY
DURING THE
REVOLUTION IN FRANCE.

DEDICATED TO
THE ENGLISH NATION.

BY THE ABBÉ-BARRUEL,
ALMONER TO HER MOST SERENE HIGHNESS
THE PRINCESS OF CONTI.

PUBLISHED IN FRENCH, 1793,
AND SINCE TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH.

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* * * *The Profits, if any arise, from the Sale of this
Abstract, are intended for the Relief of the
FRENCH CLERGY now in England.*

P R E F A C E.

AMONG the various plans suggested for the relief of that large portion of our fellow-creatures and fellow-christians, suffering under all the horrors of a persecution raised by impiety and anarchy, it has been thought not an improper one to present to that generous people, who have so amply contributed to that relief, a brief abstract of the History of the French Clergy during the French Revolution; a work dedicated to the English nation, by the Abbé Barruel; almoner to her most serene highness the Princess de Conti.

A few occasional notes * have been added to this Abstract, as a friendly caution to the people of this country how they suffer themselves to be beguiled by *soi-disant* philosophers to adopt principles which sooner or later must inevitably produce effects similar to the prevalence of the like sentiments in France. Little can be said to heighten the author's concluding reflection ; but we cannot withhold those very apposite ones which occurred to a worthy Prelate of our own church, who did not live to see the evil which an over-ruling Providence has suffered to fall on a neighbouring land.

“ The case of the Assyrians affords a remarkable instance of the manner in which God uses the instrumentality of man's free choice foreseen, and thus

* A translation has been just published, which the author has availed himself of to correct a few trifling mistakes, into which he had been led by wrong information in writing the original. These corrections are of small consequence, and are distinctly pointed out in the English preface.

causes all the machinations of worldly politicians to work together for the accomplishment of *his* designs, while they attend only to the furtherance of their own. For thus God has been pleased to state this matter, once for all, by his prophet *Isaiah*, x. 5, 6. The proud *Affyrian* knew not (what *Isaiah* could have told him) that *Jehovah*, having performed by his hand the work of correcting a rebellious people, would afterwards punish likewise his own stout heart, and the glory of his high looks (*Is. v. 12.*). He perceived not the absurdity of the axe presuming to boast itself against the person that heweth therewith. (*Ib. xv.*)*

The elegant *Bosluet*, speaking of the downfall of the *Roman* empire, says, "New nations seemed to arise, and to rush from unknown regions, in order to take vengeance on the *Romans* for the calamities which they had inflicted on mankind †."

* *Horne's Affize Sermon*, Oxford, 1775.

† *Universal History*, II. 184.

Let us beware lest the comparison between us and the French nation, at the beginning of their revolution, hold but too true ; for, to use once more the words of a Prelate of our own, not long deceased : Among us, “ God beholdeth his ordinances neglected, his Sabbaths profaned, his saints disparaged, his ministers despised, his religion torn in pieces by contending sects, when there seems to be scarcely enough of it for each of them to take a little ; the infidel openly reviling, or covertly mocking ; the faith once delivered to the saints deserted for the dregs of Socinianism ; a set of men styling themselves *philosophers* wantoning in all the paradoxical absurdities of scepticism, leaving us, between them, neither matter nor spirit, neither body nor soul, and doing their best endeavour, in their lives, and after their death, to render us a nation literally without God in the world *.”

* Bishop Horne’s Fast Sermon before the House of Commons, February 4, 1780.

Emotions of humanity can never fail to rise in British hearts; but when the first impulses are gratified, new ones will be raised, as the distressed case becomes better known. The case is unparalleled in the history of mankind, and the horror of it aggravated by the state of cultivation and civilization to which the world is supposed to have been brought.

After due deduction of the Roman Catholic principles which pervade this just and animated declamation, there is nothing said respecting the *new-established religion* of France, to which Protestants may not unreservedly subscribe. The Christian religion is proscribed. The religion of *nature, reason, morality, republicanism*, is established. This has been done in France by an appeal to men's passions, and interest, and has succeeded. In England it has been attempted by an appeal to men's liberality of mind and thinking powers, and has not succeeded. The majority of the community

community understood their religion and their real interest, both spiritual and temporal, better; and have repelled the zealous unguarded attempts to *unchristianise* them; for this, in a Protestant country, is the true translation of *uncatholicising* (*décatholiciser*). The members of the Christian Church in England, whether established by law, or established by conviction (for the same common truths are held and cherished by the Churchmen and Dissenters), will not with impunity bear to be told that they are *idolatrous bigots*; that their Christianity is a lie or a corruption. There is no reason because one nation has been *guillotined* out of their religion, another should be bullied or tricked out of it. Thus far the history of the suffering church of France is a warning to Britain.

A B S T R A C T, &c.

OUR countrymen, in the first impulses of sympathy, received the distressed refugees from France with open arms. After they had discharged the first duties of humanity, they were eager to hear the tale of woe which every one of them had to tell, and which it is now become necessary to collect into a corrected narrative. This task devolved on the Abbé Barruel; and he has executed it in a manner equal to the most sanguine expectations. His history is divided into three parts; the first comprehends what passed most remarkable respecting religion under the Assembly called *Nationale constituante*, from May, 1789, to the end of September, 1791. The second terminates at August 10, 1792. His object was not to relate every particular of these periods, but only so much as was sufficient to

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shew how both prepared and produced the 3d, which was that of the massacres and banishment of the clergy. The emotions of gratitude which break forth in every page seem concentrated in the 10th page of the Introduction, in celebrating the goodness of the Marquis and Marchioness of Buckingham to the clergy in Winchester castle, displayed in every possible manner both openly and secretly: to these must be added the clergy and magistrates, and all classes of inhabitants, in Winchester and Gosport. The like may be said of London—of England—and in these general descriptions there is scarcely a line for Messrs. Burke and Wilmot. 138 bishops or archbishops, 64,000 curates, or vicars, obliged to quit their stations or perjure themselves; not to mention all the ecclesiastics and the religious of both sexes, driven from their habitations, and the temples of the Lord turned into vast prisons for his ministers, of whom 300 were massacred in one day in one city; all the rest sacrificed, or driven to seek refuge where they could.—Such is the spectacle which the French Revolution offers to the world, from the beginning of the opening of the States General at Versailles, 1789. Mirabeau the elder, who to the talents joined the vices of Catiline, publicly declared that, in order to produce a revolution, they must begin with *uncatholicising* France. He found a greater resistance than he expected, and the execution of his plans was reserved for wicked spirits. To the Atheists were joined the *Oeconomists*,

nomists, who wanted to save the expences of religion, and enrich the nation by the plunder of the church. The court and city favoured these sects, as favouring the dissoluteness of their manners. On this the clergy withstood them, though too many of this body did not preserve the constancy the rest have shewn. Neckar, when prime minister, first paved the way to these persecutions by keeping back many of the bishops from the States General, and weakening the hierarchy, to destroy Episcopacy in France. Presbyterianism was on the point of ruining the Church, when the curates saw that the overthrow of religion, more than the relief of the pastors, was the object aimed at. The third estate soon got the better of the nobility and clergy in these deliberations, and made them join in that constitution which destroyed the church and monarchy. Before the clergy came to the States General, they had given up their immunities and pecuniary privileges, and offered to take upon themselves the loan of thirty millions then wanted. That Assembly took away their tithes and the church plate. The next step was to set the people against them, by representing them as aristocratically inclined; and, in the Assembly at Versailles, October 9, Taillerand Perigord, bishop of Autun, moved for seizing all the remaining property of the clergy, which was enforced by the mob, and the churches were sold, and turned into stables and play-houses. The abolition of religious orders followed

next: the religious women refused to quit their cells; but among the monks were a great number of apostates, whose former lives had not agreed with their profession. The fourth degree of persecution was the framing a civil constitution for the clergy, weakening their authority, opposing the received faith concerning the powers and authorities, spiritual and temporal, the antient discipline and the constitutions of the church as to its counsels, the Pope, the bishops, the pastors in general, and the people; besides other errors in this new constitution. The king was prevailed on to sign it, and it was carried into execution. A fifth step in persecution was exacting from the clergy an oath to maintain this new constitution, or renounce their functions, on pain of being punished as disturbers of the public peace. Only eight days were allowed them. Thirty of three hundred of the ecclesiastical deputies and Jacobin session immediately took the oath: twenty-nine bishops and near two hundred and thirty priests were reserved to the next day, to be called upon by name to take it. They refused at first, a few singly, and afterwards the rest in a body; insomuch that twenty of those who had before taken it retracted it. Mirabeau could not help exclaiming, "We have got their money, but they have kept their honour." The next and sixth degree of persecution was the municipal officers summoning all ecclesiastics to take this oath, under pain of deposition. The

whole was conducted with indecency; many curates were sacrificed by the mob, even while defended by their parishioners. Baillie, the Mayor, unable to prevail on one of them, told him, if this constitution was contrary to the Catholic religion, and he could bring it about, the Catholic religion should not exist a day longer in France. Another magistrate resigned his office, to avoid administering the oath; and, refusing to take it himself, gave up a royal professorship and his whole income. Six hundred of the clergy in Paris were said to have taken the oath, of whom two-thirds were such priests as the church disclaims, collegians who for the last twenty years have been ruining education (*ces hommes de college qui malheureusement depuis plus de 20 ans perdoient l'éducation*), or singing-men, who made no part of the clergy. Among the 138 bishops and archbishops only four prevaricated; the bishop of Autun beforementioned, the bishop of Sens (cardinal Lomenie), the bishop of Orleans, and the bishop of Viviers. The priests who took the oath were, in general, afraid of the Jacobin mob and the French Huguenots. It had been a plan, from the beginning of the revolution, to play off the Calvinists against the Catholics; and the southern Calvinists at Nîmes massacred near six hundred citizens, of every age, rank, and sex; while those of the Cevennes round Nîmes express their abhorrence of such proceedings, and, in the National Assembly, defended the clergy. It was no easy matter to replace the
deposed

deposed bishops and clergy with others. The sunshine was changed into almost total darkness when Expilly, the new bishop of Quimper, took his seat. Saeves, the intruder into the see of Poitiers, fell down dead as he was going to sign the hateful decree. Another intruded parish-priest dropt down at the altar. Many were tormented with remorse; the Pope condemned them, and separated the false from the antient church; and the followers of each separated from the other, and were allowed separate churches, where the service was performed in the strictest decency. At last these true Catholics were abused, and the women publicly whipt, to make them take the oath. These cruelties, encouraged by Fayette and Baillie, shocked the nation, and several priests recanted.

The eighth kind of persecution was expelling the bishops from their dioceses, and the first arresting of priests whose pensions had before been taken off; instances of the first kind are the bishops of Senez and Gap. The burial of Mirabeau at St. Genevieve, and the destruction of five bas reliefs of that magnificent church, at an expence of 110,000 livres, are feelingly described. The next step against the priests was the stopping of their pensions, followed soon after by the imprisonment of seventy at Brest; whence, after the King, himself prisoner at the Thuilleries, had signed the constitution, they were released. This tranquility was of short duration. After the
king's

king's attempt to escape, others in different districts were apprehended. The seizure of Avignon, and the execution of six hundred persons, who were knocked on the head one by one as they were let out of the castle, and their mangled bodies thrown into the pit called the Glaciere; together with the venerable M. Nolhac in his 80th year, who had been curate of St. Symphorien 30 years, concludes the first part of this work.

The second part comprehends the persecutions of the clergy and church under the second National Assembly, till August 10, 1792.

“ The constitutional religion was now established in France, and in its novelty alone had all the marks of reprobation; owing its creation to the legislators of the day, instead of going back to Jesus Christ and divine authority. Its first teacher was Camus; its first consecrator, Taillerand; its first bishop, Expilly. Its opinions concerning the sacerdotal mission and spiritual power, the ecclesiastical hierarchy, the head of pontiffs, and pontiffs in general, the evangelical virtues, were proscribed, like those of heresiarchs, by the Pope and the bishops, the true judges of the faith. Reduced to itself alone, single, without communication with the Holy See, with any of the Catholic sects in the world, it had no other suffrage but its own. Established on the ruins of a Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman church, it could not lawfully apply to itself any of these titles; for truth cannot be established on the ruins of truth. It was as new as the revolution which produced it*.”

In vain did the Catholics oppose arguments against the innovation; the innovators, un-

able to answer them, had recourse to abuse and alarms.

“ But, it must be confessed, the part of the people which changed their religion was the most ignorant and vicious. Among the bourgeois, who, with more leisure, might be supposed to possess more information, many seemed to follow this new religion; but they were men whom the jealousy of the nobility, lords, and false ideas of liberty, seemed to have involved in the whirlpools of the revolution. Changes in religion were to them not so much the effect of conviction, as a party business; and, having once put on the uniform of the National guards, they followed blindly or cowardly, for fear of being arrested aristocrats at the law of the day.

If they could have had their choice, the majority would have wished that the revolution had been confined to civil matters; and they could not discern that the new order of things did not procure them happier times *.”

The second National Assembly, which met in October, 1791, consisted of men of such character “ that, if a third had not afterwards met, one should have said that the second was composed of the sweepings and filth of the sections and clubs.” There were met however a number of deputies, who thought themselves honest men because they were constitutional, and made some attempts to maintain that *French Constitution* which the

* P. 165. What is here said of the French people by no means applies to the English of the same class. Neither they nor the nobility (a few discontented of both classes excepted) have a real wish for a change; or are insensible of the blessings, religious and civil, they now enjoy.

† P. 170.

clubs wished to abolish. The new troubles raised against the clergy by this new Assembly consisted in representing them as the authors of opposition to the new establishment, and no pains were spared to make them appear *refractory*; a new term, invented, like that of Aristocrat, to increase the popular fury, by making it believed that all disturbances originated from them. A second oath, called the *civic*, was imposed upon them; by which they swore *to be faithful to the nation, the law, the king; and to maintain the French constitution decreed by the first Assembly*, under pain of being declared incapable of every ecclesiastical and civil function; deprived of their pension; reputed suspected of rebellion against the law, and evil designs against their country; and confined in the town assigned by the respective deputies for the place of their exile or imprisonment. This insidious decree, enacted November 29, 1791, was opposed by the department of Paris, as expressly contrary to the oath to maintain the constitution; which securing to all citizens the same right, left them at liberty to take or refuse the civic oath, without subjecting them to pains and penalties. Many of the clergy had taken it when the constitution was scarcely begun, February 4, 1790. The bishop of Clermont declared in the Assembly, June 9, that year, that the religious articles in the constitution did not admit of an oath without restriction;

and he was followed by all the bishops and clergy, and many of the lay deputies. The decree of November 29 was not past. Numbers of persons quitted France to enjoy the free exercise of religion, and, among the rest, the king's aunts. The minister's report, February 8, 1791, vindicated the priests from the charges brought against the disturbers of the public peace, and he was justified in his assertions by facts. All this, however, did not satisfy the Jacobins. The Pope issued a new brief against communication with the new pastors. Humanity revolts at the recital of the outrages committed to compel such communication; outrages and cruelties practised in the most cruel schisms of the church, even in that of the Circumcelliones *. February

15,

* "A horrible confederacy of desperate ruffians; a furious, fearless, and bloody set of men, composed of the rough and savage populace, who embraced the party of the Donatists, maintained their cause by force of arms, and, overrunning all Africa, filled that province with slaughter and rapine, and committed the most enormous acts of perfidy and cruelty against the followers of Cecilianus." Mosheim, i. 330.—If it were not ungenerous and unchristian to retort (but Protestants cannot forget the valleys of Piedmont, and the revocation of the edict of Nantz,) the mouth of retort would be stopt. It were well if those of our own country could forget the sufferings of their own clergy in the last century. We are all taught this important lesson—that religious horrors are the worst of horrors; and that we cannot be too careful how we promote or encourage them. Learn hence, ye followers of those eminent names, who amuse themselves in venting every abuse against the established religion

15, the Jacobins pass an order for a general imprisonment of all priests left in the departments most subject to them; beginning in Dinant on the North coast, and with Angers* in which three hundred priests of its neighbourhood were ordered to meet. The treatment they met with there from their persecutors is reproach to human nature†. Above twice as many more were collected at Laval ‡; half of them totally without resource; 120 at Brest; others at Rennes. Charrier of Lyons, an intruded bishop at Rouen, where he succeeded cardinal Rochefoucault, quitted it for shame. Six bishops have expressed their remorse to the Pope, but are afraid to declare it publicly. Other priests feel the like remorse. A decree against wearing the ecclesiastical habit, proposed by an intruded priest,

religion of their country, that the beginning of strife is as when one letteth out water.

* An affecting picture is given of the destruction of churches and churchyards in that city, p. 230—2. The superb church of Notre Dame de Puy was burnt down. P. 264. Puy de la Garde is a town with a convent of Augustines, famous in the neighbourhood for the devotion paid to the Virgin Mary. Busching, V. 528.

† The generous relief and assistance they experienced from the inhabitants and the bulk of the people who adhered to their old religion, seems to furnish matter of astonishment that they submitted to the change: but the patience and tranquillity of their priests restrained them from exerting the opposition which their superior numbers authorised.

‡ Which had been made a bishopric by the National Assembly.

was not sanctioned by the king. Another for suppressing the secular congregations of institutors, missionaries, sisters hospitalers, and all other such like, proposed by the same, was adopted. The refusal of the oath had already thinned the colleges and nunneries of their students and professors. Alexander Moy, curate of St. Laurence at Paris, who had taken the oath, published a book against all religious worship; which his parishioners resented, almost at the hazard of his life, and a proposition founded on which was scouted even by the Jacobins. Wearied, or affecting to be so, with continued accusations of the nonjuring clergy, the legislators required a new report on the *interior disturbances*; which was drawn up accordingly by François of Nantes; and was replied to by the clergy, who charged those who had conformed with having done it more from motives of fear than from any desire to hear the truth. The reporter, while he left to the priests their ancient worship, forbade them to preach and publish it. This was followed by a decree for the politic measure of sending out of the kingdom all the clergy who had not taken the oath of December 26, 1790, or the civic one of September 3, 1791, or retracted either. They were allowed twenty-four hours to quit the district; three days the department; and a month the kingdom; a passport and three livres for ten leagues, till out of the kingdom, on pain of being removed by the gendarmerie

gendarmerie from brigade to brigade : those who remained or refused to be detained ten years. In vain did the clergy claim the privilege of the Constitution. The defects of the decree were well exposed by the archbishops of Aix and Arles : the former was obliged to take refuge in England, for having written an excellent work on the subject. A different fate awaited the latter. The king refused his concurrence to this decree, as to every other against the clergy. They concealed themselves some time in Paris, Rouen, and Amiens, in various disguises. They were at last supported by public subscription. In the beginning of June this year, every assurance in favour of religious liberty, in its utmost extent, had been given in Paris ; but, on the 28th of that month, the mob broke into the palace of the Thuilleries, under pretence of the king's having refused his assent to the proceedings against the nonjuring priests, but really to try the strength of the Jacobins, previous to the agitating the question of his removal or suspension from the crown. Fifty-four departments endeavoured, by addresses full of indignation against this insurrection, to do away the horrors of it. The king was drawn in to declare war against Austria ; and this step was afterwards made a charge against him that he wanted to procure the Emperor to enter France, to overturn the new constitution, and restore the court, the clergy, and the nobility. The Jacobins did
not

not stop here. One would have thought that the law, in giving him a *veto*, had left one to each department, each district, each of the four thousand municipalities against him. The Jacobins of Finisterre proposed, in the general council of administrators in this department, a charge as false as heavy against the nonjuring clergy, and an order for their being confined in the castle of Brest, or immediately sent out of the kingdom at their own option. M. d'Argentré, bishop of Limoges, that benevolent prelate, so universally beloved for his humane and civil qualities, so respected for his religious virtues, had, on this occasion, a most narrow escape from the malice of Guai de Vernon, his intruded successor, who wrote circular letters through his diocese, and sent patterns of a pike to arm the people against the clergy. The Jacobins threatened to exterminate all the nonjuring priests, or send them, with the wives, children, and parents of the emigrants, against the Austrian cannon.

The army under Duffailant was easily routed at Jales, and himself killed, July 11. Scenes of horror followed : the revolutionary troops, having no enemy to fight, plundered and massacred every where. A priest was cut to pieces, by mistake for an old monk of the same name, who had long left France. Thirty priests and many innocent peasants were involved in the same massacre by the Huguenots of the South ; “ whose religion the
new

new constitutional religion, in many articles, resembled ; and at least preserved the reality of the mass, episcopacy, and confession. The Huguenot ministers would themselves have refused its oath, as catholic priests, though for different reasons. Whence then this inveteracy in the Southern Huguenots against priests whose only crime, in the eyes of even their persecutors, was the refusal of this very oath ? The revolution explains all. The impious and the intruded urged on the Jacobins ; the Jacobins the Huguenots ; and the Devil all. The madness of rage animated them all. God made use of them, all to try his church ; and his priests must forgive them all, and even rejoice in the happy opportunity which heaven gave them to die for their faith *.” Bourdeaux, which rivalled Paris in the revolutionary spirit, began the massacre of priests. Several instances here recorded serve but to shew the madness of the mob ; dancing round the tree of liberty, amidst repeated acts of murder of men whom judges and magistrates acquitted. These gradually trained the mind to acts of greater injustice and more general massacre. A priest of Rouen was murdered by the women ; “ that description of women to be met with in Paris, ready to believe every thing ; and, having past their younger days with shame, became, in some sort, the ruffians of their sex, more irascible, and

* P. 318, 319.

often more cruel, than those of Jourdan himself*.”

Part III. containing a continuation of the history of the persecutions, massacres, and exile of the clergy, has the following exordium :

“ For a series of years the religious orators and doctors had announced to France, to the King’s court, from the evangelic chair, and in their different writings, that the reign of the wicked would never be established without being equally fatal to the throne and the altar. The French revolution seemed to have undertaken to verify this prediction.

In the first National Assembly, deep villains, like the elder Mirabeau ; great rebels, like Philip d’Orleans ; men incapable of business, but foolishly ambitious of popular applause, like La Fayette ; men of execrable ingratitude, like the Lameths ; atrocious souls, like Barnave ; dark sophists, stupid politicians, like Seyes ; the general inquest of Rabaud, Target, or Chapellier ; had given to France a constitution which made the king the servant of the commons. In the same assembly those hypocritical tyrants, Camus, Treillard, Expilly, unnaturalizing † religion, subjecting the gospel, Christ, and his apostles, to the caprices of the age, had substituted to the church a phantom ; to the true pastors, intruded ones ; to unity, schism ; to reality and truth, illusion and error. Wretches deeper still, tyrants more atrocious, sophists more monstrous, the choice of the last Jacobin conspirators, Pethion, Robespierre, Marat, and Danton, had told the first but half their secret. They had left them, by a constitution which they

* P. 337.

† *Dénaturant.*

did not desire to weaken and enervate, that monarch whose name was a torment to them ; to strip the altars which they were to annihilate, to calumniate, ruin, and turn out those priests whom they wished to massacre. For ten whole months the Jacobin legislators, and the Jacobin municipalities, secretly pursued these last projects of revolution. The same steps, the same progress against the king and the clergy, announced that the same catastrophe was about to happen to compleat the double proscriptions. Brissot was ready, with his Girondins, Vergnaux, Guadet, and Gensonnet ; he had prepared the decrees which were to annihilate the structure raised by the first Assembly, and especially this constitutional monarch, which it had substituted to the true Kings of France. All the crimes which were to be imputed to Louis XVI. to authorise his suspension, imprisonment, or death, were committed by those very men who were preparing to impute them to him, who, by their own confessions, had committed the monly to make them one day fall on his own head *."

Such was the forcing him to declare war against Prussia and Austria ; " because they
 " foresaw that the Austrian and Prussian ar-
 " mies once entering into France, they could
 " accuse the king of having called them in
 " to re-establish his antient power. Brissot
 " and his Jacobins had fomented all the
 " troubles of the provinces and the capital ;
 " but they wanted to tell the provinces and
 " the capital that peace and plenty would
 " never be restored while they had on the
 " throne a king interested in maintaining

*P. 339—341.

“ disorder under the new laws ; while France
 “ had a king too weak to resist the enemies
 “ of the constitution, or too ambitious to
 “ wish to do so. Brissot and his Jacobin
 “ partisan, Pethion, laboured to make the
 “ people solicit the deposition of Louis XVI.
 “ as the only remedy for the misfortunes
 “ of the empire ; because it was to serve
 “ as a pretence for that Convention which
 “ was to annihilate in France even the
 “ title of King. The greater part of the
 “ French shewed a repugnance to these
 “ dispositions. Brissot in vain founded the
 “ departments ; even in the National As-
 “ sembly he had counted voices, and had
 “ found the greatest majority against him.
 “ It was said that violence and massacre
 “ should do what persuasion could not. The
 “ capital was worked up to the highest
 “ pitch ; under the name of federates the
 “ ruffians of the provinces were all called in,
 “ and the day was fixed for striking the last
 “ blow against the throne. France, lost in
 “ terror, or frantic with fury, was one day
 “ to know both the views and progress of
 “ this plot, in its plan, its artifices, its exe-
 “ cution, the most insidious and atrocious
 “ that the annals of wickedness record. It
 “ was one day to be informed by the very
 “ authors of the plot, by the writings of
 “ Brissot, the speeches of Vergnaux and
 “ Louvet, when their detestable successes
 “ permitted these great conspirators to dis-
 “ close the flagrant perfidy and to glory in it.

“ At the moment when the new conspiracy
 “ was to break out, the burgesſes of Paris
 “ ſhuddered at it without daring to oppoſe
 “ it ; the populace and the ruſſians ſeconded
 “ it with all their fury without knowing it.”

An eſſential part of it was the death of
 the nonjuring prieſts ; and liſts were drawn
 out of all in Paris, eſpecially thoſe who
 had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their zeal
 and writings in favor of religion. The 10th
 of Auguſt was the day fixt on to be the laſt
 day of the French monarchy. “ That
 “ frightful day was an age, a chaos of fury,
 “ maſſacre, horror, ſlaughter, on the part of
 “ the ruſſians ; of treachery and wickedneſs
 “ on that of the conſpirators. It was for
 “ Louis XVI. and his queen an age of hu-
 “ miliation, puniſhment, and inſult. An
 “ army of 60,000 ruſſians, national traitors,
 “ and all the mob of the Fauxbourg St.
 “ Antoine and St. Marceau, beſieged the
 “ Thuilleries. The king ſaw himſelf re-
 “ duced to ſeek protection in the hall of the
 “ legiſlators ; his Swiſs guards, after prodi-
 “ gies of valour, to the number of 8 or 900,
 “ were almoſt all ſacrificed. The caſtle was
 “ plundered, and all the ſervants in it ſlaugh-
 “ tered. The populace vented their rage on
 “ all the moſt precious furniture in this
 “ abode of Kings. They drank the blood
 “ of the dying, tore out the hearts of the
 “ dead, mangled their bodies, devoured

* P. 343.

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“ their

“ their flesh, and were for twelve hours drunk
 “ with rage against every thing that had be-
 “ longed to the king and all his servants *.”

The lists of the priests were given out; and they were charged with having joined the soldiers in arms in defence of the king. The plan of arresting them was carried into execution August 11, beginning with the bishop of Arles; who, though firmly attached to the true religion, had never distinguished himself in its behalf, nor published the pastoral letter to his diocese, like the other bishops. No distinction was made between the priests called public functionaries, from having been engaged in the ministry, or instructing in parishes and colleges; and those who had not held these functions. Forty-six were apprehended that day, and among them two brothers, bishops of Beauvais and Saintes. They were all confined in the church of the Carmelites, even their canes taken from them; and, no beds being provided, they were obliged to pass the night sitting on chairs, forbidden to speak to one another, or to kneel at their prayers; the guards shocking them with the most horrid oaths and imprecations, and mimicking the service of the church, and the mass of the dead †.

* P. 344.

† Does not this remind our readers of the behaviour of the russian soldiery in the parliament's cause in the last century? Happily Englishmen have had enough of this work; and no insinuations, direct or indirect, can stir them up to repeat it in the present century.

These unhappy men escaped for the present. But, August 13 and 15, orders were issued for a general arrest of all the nonjuring priests; the others hardly escaping by wearing lay habits. “ The city of Paris afforded a
 “ most extraordinary spectacle in these days
 “ of terror and confusion. The eye ranging
 “ over this immense city, would have seen
 “ the innumerable ways in which this rage
 “ was vented in the same moment against
 “ the two great objects of the hatred and fury
 “ of the russians, the ruins of the antient monarchy and of the altar. The hall called
 “ National presented the king and his consort, his sister, his children, their governess, a princess allied to him*, confined in a
 “ lodge in the face of the rebels, and reduced
 “ to hear their fate from the mouth of the conspirators, this monstrous senate passing
 “ successively from its decrees against the king
 “ to its decrees against the priests. Around
 “ this resort of rebellion, part of the king’s house still smoking, a numerous populace
 “ flocking to feed their eyes with the sight
 “ of the ruins of the castle ; still nearer to the Assembly, and at its gates, legions of furious
 “ russians, insulting by their cries a captive king ; waiting with impatience for the
 “ last decree, which should assign his prison
 “ and the hour of their new triumph, in the humiliations with which his removal was
 “ to be accompanied from them. In the
 “ same instant the same eye would have seen

* *Son aliée.*

“ in Paris, on the bridges, and in all public
 “ places, an unruly mob pulling down and
 “ breaking all the statues of the deceased
 “ kings, and whatever could recall an idea
 “ of royalty; and, in the church, the mu-
 “ nicipal officers and their myrmidons com-
 “ pleting the spoiling of altars, tearing away
 “ the last brasses, and even the iron grates,
 “ in all the convents and monasteries. Other
 “ municipal officers and their myrmidons
 “ completing the destruction of the religious
 “ state; driving into the world all the rest
 “ of the monks and nuns; pressing the
 “ latter, half dead with fear, to leave their
 “ houses and assume lay habits, and hardly
 “ promising them other houses to protect
 “ them; cannon planted against those
 “ houses where they remained till the even-
 “ ing; and women dying of age or illness,
 “ as well as with fear, dragged by the savage
 “ National Guards, left in the midst of the
 “ streets, while the more feeling inhabi-
 “ tants were afraid to take them in *.”

In the mayor's house, late that of the first
 president of parliament, sat Manuel, Panis,
 Le Gendre, and all the subalterns of the
 same gang, presiding over these outrages

* P. 357, 358.

When Henry VIII. reformed religion by dissolving
 the religious houses, he acted like a gentleman. The
 reform of religion and government, brought about in
 France by republican despots, was effected by a mob of
 ruffians. Happy Britain knows no such ministers of
 reformation, however it is the interest of a few discon-
 tented spirits to make the contrary believed.

against

against the priesthood, and issuing their orders; the officers, the presidents of the sections, with their train of pikes and bayonets and their secretaries, hunting after the unfortunate men, and their books and papers : and when they were brought before the committee, they had to wait whole days and weeks before they were called in. The bishop of Arles shamed his judges into a release of him, by telling them that persecution was not the way to conciliate men's minds to the revolution ; and escaped by telling them he could not swear to support a constitution which supported nobody. Others escaped by the interest of their friends with Manuel, or for want of proof, or because they thought their myrmidons could get rid of them in another manner less obnoxious. Some of the sections were so much under controul as to have changed their names by law. “ Thus the
 “ sceptre, which the constitutional aristocrats
 “ envied the king, had past to the aristocracy of burgeses, who envied it to the
 “ aristocratical noblesse ; and now the aristocracy of banditti, and the vilest rabble,
 “ envied it and forced it from the burgeses.
 “ But in all these new hands impiety directed it against the priests who remained
 “ faithful to their God*.” The charitable relief afforded by Abbé Bonnel, in the hard winter of 1788, was forgotten by the populace. The venerable P. Guerin Du-

* P. 363.

rocher, known by his astonishingly learned “ True history of the fabulous times ;” and his elder brother, an antient Jesuit missionary, who had brought equal treasures of learning from the East, were involved in the general barbarism. From August 13 to September 2, 1792, ecclesiasticks were confined at St. Firmin, and their apartments and effects sealed up. They were debarred all communication from without, and supported only by the charity of the parish. 120 in the Carmelite church, including the archbishop of Arles and the two Rochefoucauds, were in a worse situation, till supplied partly by authority and partly by charity. Numbers were added to them before the end of August. The detail of their sufferings is not to be paralleled in modern history. August 26, a decree was past for sending them out of the kingdom ; allowing them a fortnight to transport themselves on signifying whither they meant to go ; and all who remained after that time were to be sent to French Guiana *. Every one who remained after declaring his intention to depart, and obtaining a passport, or returning again, was to be

* The South Eastern division of Terra firma in South America, bounded by the Atlantic ocean on the north and east ; Andalusia and the Amazons on the west and south ; in which are included Surinam and Caen, or Equinoctial France ; lying between 50 and 65 degrees of west longitude, and between the equator and 8 degrees of north latitude ; extending from the mouth of the Oronoque to the mouth of the river of Amazons.

imprisoned ten years. The sick and all of the age of sixty are excepted, and were to be placed together in one common house in the capital of the department. All other ecclesiastics who have not taken the oath, secular and regular priests, clerks or lay brothers, without exception or distinction, though not subject to the oath by the laws of December 26, 1790, and 27th April, 1791, shall be subject to all the preceding dispositions, when, by any external act they have occasioned disturbances which come to the knowledge of the administrative bodies, or their removal is demanded by citizens, housekeepers in the same department. “ Thus the refusal of the oath of
 “ perjury and apostacy continued to be the
 “ true cause of all the persecutions excited
 “ against the Catholic clergy ; and permitted
 “ by God to remove from their cause every
 “ pretence of aristocracy in their persecu-
 “ tions ; that it might be no longer possible
 “ to deny that the real cause thereof was in
 “ the priests their fidelity to the laws of
 “ conscience, and in their enemies a hatred
 “ to the true religion.” “ The atrocity
 “ of the pretended philosophers of the day
 “ was now to be unmasked. The world
 “ was to know what was the toleration they
 “ had been so long requiring as the master-
 “ piece of human wisdom. Their pride
 “ must be humbled by the successive deve-
 “ lopement of their fierce hatred of God, the

* P. 389.

E

“ priesthood,

“ priesthood, and royalty. The world must
 “ be taught to understand the reality of Di-
 “ derot’s wish; the father of the impious
 “ men of the time; *when shall I see the last*
 “ *of kings strangled in the bowels of the last of*
 “ *priests!* This infernal hatred had past from
 “ the heart of Diderot into that of Condor-
 “ cet; from that of Condorcet into that of
 “ the Manuels, the Roberſpieres, the Paines,
 “ and all the municipality of the great club,
 “ and all the masters of the Jacobins. For
 “ they all called themselves philosophers, all
 “ talked of humanity, of universal toleration,
 “ of light to be thrown over all the human
 “ race; of the empire of philosophy; of the
 “ supreme reason to be substituted to the
 “ reign of religious superstition, and the
 “ worship of altars and sceptres of sove-
 “ reignty. Condorcetism* was a real sect,
 “ and had united itself to all those in the
 “ kingdom to bring about the revolution.
 “ It had at first called in plunder, robbery,
 “ and rods against the priests. Soon its rods
 “ were changed into scourges; and next fol-
 “ lowed pikes and axes. The assurances of
 “ impunity had driven away the shame of
 “ making martyrs. The time drew near
 “ when heaven, humbling the sophists, dis-
 “ closing the rage which concealed their
 “ pride, was going to shew in the heart of
 “ impious men the hearts of cannibals;

* Let the admirers of Condorcetism under another name in England read this!

“ when the world was to learn that between
 “ the schools of Condorcet and Jourdan
 “ there was no more difference than between
 “ the workman and his tool, between Tibe-
 “ rius and his executioners *.”

“ The victims of all kinds were ready.
 “ The few true royalists who remained in
 “ Paris had been carefully sought after.
 “ With still greater fury the Jacobins de-
 “ fired to get rid of those constitutionalists
 “ who had got rid of the royalists under
 “ pretence of searching for arms. Domiciliary
 “ visits had served to secure the known friends
 “ of Fayerism, the foolish zealots of a bastard
 “ constitution, detested by the Jacobins
 “ merely for keeping up the shadow of a
 “ king. The hotel de la Force, the Con-
 “ ciergerie, the Abbaye, and all the other
 “ prisons of Paris overflowed with those con-
 “ stitutionalists whom God was about to
 “ punish for the hypocritical rebellion against
 “ the throne, by raising up against them re-
 “ bels consummate in boldness and rage †.”

A different fate awaited the 180 priests con-
 fined at the Carmelites, who all, except a
 few, suffered cruel martyrdom there. The
 infamous treachery and consummate baseness
 of Manuel, who got the sentence changed
 from banishment to death, in his mockery of
 the priests confined at the Carmelites, de-
 ceiving them with hopes of transportation,

* P. 388.

† P. 389.

while he meditated a massacre of them, have but just been expiated by the Guillotine. In reading Mr. B's detail of the massacre, one fancies oneself reverting to the proscriptions of heathen Rome, and the massacre, by Sylla's order, in the amphitheatre. If our limits permitted us to copy it, the pen would drop from our hands. We should think we heard something worse than the war-hoop of the American savage. We give, instead of it, the reflections of the writer, which, allowing for the language of his country and his religion, every true Christian may adopt; and, if we could separate Christianity from humanity, we would say every human being. 140 fell, and about 36 or 38 escaped by singular interpositions of Providence in their favour. Among the rest the Abbé de la Panonnie. By the list at the end of the book no fewer than 300 ecclesiastics were massacred at Paris in the beginning of September. It is hard for the reader, and more hard for the historian, to turn his thoughts from one bloody spectacle to another still more bloody. "At least it is a happiness for me, says Mr. B. to have to present no other victims but those whose cause and constancy ennoble man more than the ferocity of tyrants degrade him. The philosopher may be indignant, the citizen turn pale with fear, the Christian follows with admiration those souls strengthened to the conflict. They have but one word to say: the path of error might restore to them liberty,

liberty, life, the acclamations of the people and of the executioners who surrounded them. What is to them this life and these acclamations, compared with the glory of dying for the truth, and for the God of truth ! Not one of these priests hesitates ; not one asks, if there is time to redeem this mortal life by the word of error. There is then a better life, an eternal life for him whose heart is attached and united to the God of truth. How powerful is this God of truth, whom a simple emanation of thought makes present to man, makes man superior, invincible, to all tyrants, and to all his executioners. The instant in which the victim falls is not the triumph of Pethion, Marat, or Roberespierre ; it is the instant of their shameful defeat ; they could slaughter, but they could not make a priest an apostle. His body falls, his soul rises to heaven ; angels contend for conveying it into the presence of the God who triumphs in it. What can he receive from heaven greater, nobler, more worthy of him, than the man who knew how to die for him * ?" 180 were massacred in two or three hours. While this

* Compare this apostrophe with that which talks of carrying good news to Dr. Price in the other world ; and then ask which carried the best to him—those who died on this awful occasion, or the deputies who expiated their crimes, we had almost said his crimes, under the guillotine last month. The first who *awake* may tell him the worst tidings.

bloody work was going forward at the Abbaye, the Jacobins gave out that the priests at the Carmelites, and particularly the archbishop of Arles, were the first to fire on the guard; and that the priests and prisoners were to have massacred the citizens; and, notwithstanding the strictest care taken not to leave the smallest weapons among the prisoners, this strange absurdity found defenders, and this and similar reports served to diminish the terror of the transaction, and disposed the populace to support and second that of the next day, September 3. At St. Firmin the 90 priests were brought out, at five in the morning, to the mob; who compassionating their numbers, the guard drove them in again, and either killed them or threw them out of the windows to the women below, who, with plasterers' beaters dispatched them: as if to shew, that the sex, superior to man in sensibility when it follows nature, exceeds executioners in cruelty when it departs from it, or is provoked in its hatred. One was before saved by a butcher's boy, shocked with the share he had at the Carmelites; and the lives of four more were begged by the populace. Two or three hid themselves and came out afterwards half starved, and escaped; and for Abbé Hay, the mineralogist, the Academy of Sciences interceded. The new legislators, who took no steps to stop these two massacres, seemed inclined to

save

save some victims at the Abbaye. Chabot risked his life in proposing it; and Danton silenced the Girondists who applied to him.

The third oath, prescribed by the Assembly on the day they imprisoned the King, ran thus: "I swear to defend liberty and equality, and to die for them." The priests avoided the snare laid for them by this oath. 600 persons at least were massacred at La Force; for the women were spared, except the Princess Lamballe; and the prisoners confined for reasons of law (*raisons légitimes*) were treated as brethren, on condition they would enlist in the service of the revolution. The printed lists of persons massacred in the different prisons are very deceitful; for they give only 164 at La Force, and 85 at the Conciergerie; whereas we have it from an eye-witness, that, in this last prison particularly, massacres succeeded one another with prodigious rapidity, and lasted without intermission above 26 hours. October 29, the legislator Louvet thought he could not exaggerate in setting the number at 280,000; and this conspirator of the 10th of August, knew better than any body those of September 2. The cruelties practised at the Place Dauphin surpassed those of the Iroquois savage. That of a canon of St. Symphorien burnt alive was the counterpart of an Iroquois sacrifice. "I had heard of them at Paris," says Mr. B.; "but, whatever idea I had of a Jacobinical mob, I did not believe tigers sufficiently cruel,"

“ cruel, or devils sufficiently devilish, or rage
 “ fierce enough, to believe them true. Other
 “ pens have told them to the world, and
 “ history compels me to copy them*.”

Three ladies of quality and six priests were roasted to death. See the “ *Idée des horreurs commises a Paris, &c.*” consisting of attested facts to serve as a history of this century. September 3, a member of the Jacobin club brought the heads of his father and mother, which he had cut off because they did not think as patriots ; and they were buried on the spot, under the busts of Brutus and Ankerstroom, behind the president’s chair. This is not so surprising as that there should be left one parent or friend who was not a Jacobin.

“ With their rights of savage man, their hatred of God and kings, rich and great, nobles and priests, these monstrous sophisms were at their height ; at that degree of madness which makes no distinction of parents, friends, nor benefactors. A royalist father was to them an enemy, a brother who was a religious, or a priest, a monster ; and there was not one of them but on that day would have taken up the pike of Carra, the bayonet of Santerre, or the dagger of Marat. If among their adepts there was any one who shuddered at parricide, there was not one who would not have excused him at least by the necessity of completing their revolution. They formed a sect, and were every where ; and in Paris especially, they had made themselves of consequence. The mob of the Fauxbourgs,

* P. 491, 493.

the 600 Marsellois and the 200 executioners were at their command. 3 or 400,000 Parisians trembled before them, stupified with fear, without agreement, without connection, and without head, and too cowardly to follow those who would have drawn them out of the gulph into which their constitutional rebellion had plunged them. These men, so lately triumphant over the destruction of the Bastile, over the king, the ministers, the nobles, the court, the parliaments, now thunderstruck in sudden silence, dreading to meet the banditti, frightened before the Jacobins, scarcely daring to breathe for fear of provoking suspicion, informers and executioners;—some of these constitutional rebel-citizens hid themselves to escape the day that should complete their rebellion; others, more cowardly, joined the ruffians, and sought new victims, for fear of being sought for themselves. Others ran to offer to their tyrants, in the municipalities, their treasures, arms, and horses, against the Brunswick army, which they secretly wished to advance against the municipality. Others in their sections and in their hearts hating the Jacobins whom they feared, went to swear *liberty, equality, and hatred to kings* whom they regretted. Whole legions flew to enlist under Dumourier to deliver Paris, their affected rage and zeal for which were only the means and the wish to quit this city which devoured its inhabitants. The few who were able or willing to disperse the band of murderers waited till the law commanded that they should be opposed by force; and the law was silent while there were victims to slaughter *."

Such was, during the first week of September, the state of this metropolis of the

* P. 495—498.

revolution. The time was coming when the authors of these calamities were to blush to see themselves execrated by mankind, and the shame of having contrived them was to divide the Jacobins themselves. Brissot and his Girondists, claiming to themselves the horrible success of August 10, were to lay on Danton, Robespierre, Marat, and their Jacobins, the disgrace of September 2. This division proves that the same conspiracy produced the same atrocities of both days. From the 10th of August the list of priests was out. The expulsion of them was not the object, for there was nothing to prevent it, and they were refused passports. It is therefore false that the massacre of the priests in Paris was the effect of those sudden insurrections which no authority could prevent. In a city where 60,000 men were armed, 48 sections permanent, and the national senate and municipal council never break up, what is the sudden movement of 30 assassins, who massacre at the Carmelites for three hours, and begin again next morning at St. Firmin, without the least precaution taken to stop these murders*! The well-attested rewards† paid to these assassins prove that

* P. 500.

† Louvet refers to a legal payment made to four executioners by the commissioner Trepouil, by an order from the municipality conceived in these terms. "M. Valle de Villeneuve (city treasurer) is ordered to pay (to the four bearers, whose names were all written) the sum of twelve livres each, for the *expedition* of the priests at St. Firmin."

these philosophical assassinations were resolved in this conspiracy of August 10, combined in the deepest dye between philosophical and municipal executioners *.

“ It is a shocking task for history to pre-
 “ serve these monuments of the atrocious
 “ sang-froid of philosophers, directing and
 “ paying in a legal way the *expedition*, the
 “ massacre of priests. But when it is neces-
 “ sary to inform posterity, that they may
 “ keep clear of the contagion, it were a crime
 “ to palliate its outrages †.” The same
 spirit was excited throughout the nation. An
 address of September 3, signed by the admin-
 istrators of the public safety and the other
 adjunct administrators united, and Marat at
 the head of them, under the seal of Danton,
 exhorted them to follow the example of Paris,
 and not leave behind them, when marching
 against their enemies, any ruffians to murder
 their wives and children. Unable to produce
 a single line among all the papers of the
 priests which they had sealed up, amounting
 to a conspiracy, they proceeded to fresh mas-
 sacres. The proceedings of the high national
 court erected at Orleans proceeded too slow
 against the 57 persons referred to it, among
 whom was the duke de Brissac, and 27 offi-
 cers of the regiment of Cambresis; the ex-
 minister Delassart, the bishop of Mendes.
 They were all brought in carts, and murdered

* P. 501.

† P. 502.

before the castle of Versailles, and seven more nonjuring priests who had been confined there. The murders were continued at Meaux, Rheims, and other places. September 4, the populace seemed weary of murders, and felt so much remorse that they burnt alive at Rheims a man who had betrayed a priest who gave him alms. But this remorse was of short duration : the butcheries were renewed at Lyons, which, with Rouen, was threatened with a Parisian army. At length, to complete the whole business, it was resolved to transport the priests. But the Jacobins considered this mode as a discovery of the nonjuring priests; and Manuel called their passports *bills of death* (*billets du mort*). To some whose passport was to be viewed by the municipality before it could be granted by the sections, instead of *visa* was written *necaret* ; thus, guilty against the decree if they did not go, guilty and arrested if they went without a passport, which was refused. Such was the strange government of the day. Such the situation of Mr. B. himself, who escaped by other means *. What a sight for the world at large ! 50,000 priests of all ranks and ages, covering the roads of a kingdom of 200 square leagues, but just before most Christian, and acknowledging no other religion than that of Christ, in their way to the ports and frontiers, seeking over moun-

* P. 520.

tains, and through storms, some hospitable
 region to shelter them ; leaving behind them
 their king, and their parents, relations, and
 friends, their congregations and parishioners !
 “ Oftimes pursued with the idea that with
 “ its true ministers the true faith perhaps
 “ quitted for ever this unhappy country,
 “ and that this was perhaps the moment to
 “ shake off the dust of their feet against a
 “ land insensible to the voice of the Gospel.
 “ But God suspended this precept for them.
 “ Something whispered them that the time
 “ of a great trial was come ; that a guilty
 “ land was going to be delivered up to great
 “ scourges, and washed in rivers of blood ;
 “ but this God, who preserved the ministers
 “ of repentance and pardon, told them that
 “ the time of this repentance would one day
 “ come ; the sentence of reprobation was not
 “ pronounced, and that they would one day
 “ return to this land to be ministers of expi-
 “ ation. This hope was their comfort in
 “ their flight. They besought their God to
 “ shorten for their unhappy country the
 “ years of justice, to recal with the reign of
 “ religion, morality, and piety, that of tran-
 “ quillity and prosperity, of a country more
 “ wretched in its delirium of error, than they
 “ were in their exile *.” The Jacobins had
 other views, and nothing but the especial di-

* P. 522, 523.

rection of Providence could have prevented these ecclesiastics from meeting death in their way. Some blood was shed. Every method was taken to destroy them. The ships of those who embarked in the sea-ports were threatened to be fired at and sunk : those who were driven back by stress of weather to Toulon were crowded into the hold, and plundered of every thing but ten crowns apiece. Others were boarded and plundered of every article, and the vessel saved from sinking only at the entreaties of the owner. In the department of Coté d'or and at Dreux, they narrowly escaped with their lives. The priests who had taken the oath instigated the mob and the ruffians, and mixed with the soldiery in their exercises. At Port en Bessin one of these priests raised the mob against a company of nonjuring priests, who were going to take ship; the mayor of Bayeux interposed, and saved their lives, but not their money; their baggage was searched and damaged, and they were driven to the village and port of Bermese, a few leagues from Bayeux, which Mr. B. calls "a little England," where their treatment was directly of the contrary kind. Above 1200 ecclesiastics here received, experienced from rich and poor every accommodation for their voyage, which, "in the
 " midst of a most atrocious revolution,
 " shewed French hearts, sensible souls, real
 " rivals

“ rivals of the most humane and most generous of nations*. The same attention was paid at Dieppe, Rouen, Havre, Granville. Three privateers gave notice at Rouen that they were ready to carry the priests to Ostend. One of the captains in particular said he should be there in eight days at most, and that his ship was well supplied with provisions ; but he made so many delays that the country people assembled in arms, boarded the vessel, forced the priests on shore, imprisoned them, and had fixed a time to massacre them, a Sunday, as likely to bring more people together. The national guard from Rouen rescued them, and brought them back thither ; and they went away with new passports, but with the loss of all their little property. 140 ecclesiastics on board a third vessel, hearing what had happened to their brethren, stopt at Mailleraye, underwent the same trials, and had the same providential escape. In repeated instances and in various towns, an invisible hand seemed to check the populace, inflamed by devilish harangues, at the moment their murderous hands were lifted up to strike ! At Laval every thing betokened a preconcerted massacre ; 600 priests distributed in two convents had been confined in one, and the guard reduced from 24 to 5. These 5 resisted repeatedly 150 ruffians, till the citizens at length drove them away.

* P. 526.

The order for transporting the priests was read on the same day ; and at the same time was stuck up the order to take the peasants' horses for the army, in hopes to raise a disturbance ; but this scheme failed, and the people protected the priests. At Mans the Jacobins pretended a conspiracy by one of the imprisoned priests, who was tried and acquitted ; and for which they vented their resentment on 146 priests to be sent from thence : though well protected by the national guard, they were insulted by the populace ; their provision consumed by the guard. They were insulted and menaced by ruffians in the chapel of the castle of Angers. Their murder was resolved on, and the day fixed, when news came of the good treatment of the battalion of Angers at the taking of Verdun by the Duke of Brunswick. This only saved them from death, for they were plundered of every thing, even to their buckles, and with only 48 livres apiece out of 4000, they were marched tied two and two together, and conveyed bound hand and foot in carriages, as they came out of prison, and being joined by 300 more treated in like manner. On the road they were lodged in carthouses, barns, and ruined churches ; and in the Cordeliers church of Anceny their lives were again threatened at midnight. At Nantes they were released and lodged in the fort.

Those ecclesiastics who had not been surprized, but quitted France as common travellers, particularly the bishops, met with similar hardships. Some, unable to procure passports, wandered a long while on the frontiers, hiding in the day-time in forests or in caverns of mountains, and at night taking wrong roads, over hills, alone, or with guides who might be bribed. If they were seen on the frontiers at a distance, the guard if they came up to them put them instantly to death; which would have happened to the bishop of Troie if the guard could have reached the path in which a peasant put him. The bishop of Nismes went through such perils that the administrators of Paris could not be persuaded that he was alive, when a citizen came to demand a sum of money which had been taken from him, though no decree deprived the transported priests of their property. Of 138 diocesans four took the oath of apostacy, four died martyrs to their integrity. Providence preserved the rest from the plots of the Jacobins, in their common exile to direct, by their advice, and encourage by their example, the numerous colonies of priests thus dispersed over Europe. Most of these priests reached the places of their destination, bereft of every thing, and covered with rags, which the decrees of the Assembly had compelled them to substitute to their proper habit; not despairing of relief from their country, where they had left their property, and the scanty

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pittance

pittance assigned them by the legislature when they seized on the property of their churches. This hope soon failed them; but the God for whom they suffered procured them other resources. The first victims of the persecution fled to Rome; above 200 were there before the decree of transportation; 2000 went thither afterwards, and more after the invasion of Nice and Savoy. There were 24 bishops; the number of French ecclesiastics increased every day; and the Pope, in imitation of the most generous of nations, took care that every month each of them should have 48 livres. He took every method to deprecate the wrath of heaven by public prayers, and other devout exercises; but the cup of the Lord's wrath was to be poured out to the dregs. These exhortations were anticipated by the bishops of Italy, Savoy, the frontiers of the Rhine, and the Austrian Netherlands; the chapters, religious houses, and ministers of these countries, made wonderful exertions for their exiled brethren: an account of which, as well as of the generosity of the Spanish bishops*, will one day be given by them, that will astonish the world. Nor were the laity in these countries behind the clergy in kindness, even at Geneva itself; and when the successes of the mad conqueror (*l'écervellé triomphateur*) at Jarnappe,

* No one who has read Mr. Townsend's Travels in Spain, and the liberality and charity of its bishops, will be surprized at this.

drove them out for a short time to take refuge in Holland, they found a generous protection. The best proof of their reception in the Austrian Netherlands was their resorting thither when they returned under their lawful sovereign.

Here we might release our readers and ourselves from the melancholy detail. But it would be the highest injustice to the sufferers, and ingratitude to their benefactors, to suppress the share which ENGLAND took on this painful occasion. We must give it in the author's words.

“ To the west of Brittany and Normandy, and beyond the sea, is a nation hitherto the rival, and at present the most perfect contrast, of the French, abandoned in the madness and atrocity of their revolution. There, among a people, laborious, tranquil, and thoughtful in the bustle of its commerce; a people active and busy, industrious in all the calm of soul and *sangfroid* of its character; there, while the sceptre of government, the profound counsels of a minister and an august senate, decide the fate of nations far and near; there also reigns HUMANITY; *there she seems to have chosen her throne, and fixt her empire in all hearts.* There the French clergy, landing from a country for four whole years agitated by factions, torn by tigers, dyed with the blood of religious men, there the French clergy took breath, blessing God who had provided them this retreat. From the ships they looked forward to the people who waited for them on the shore. All persons whom they had seen for the last four years carried in their countenances the paleness of fear, suspicion, treachery, distrust, or

all the signs of hatred and rage. They saw these English on the shore, peaceable, tranquil, secure of every thing and at ease; and they said to one another with astonishment, in which *I* joined, “ they are “ calm, they have no fear, they are neither afraid “ nor frightful: there is then a place on earth “ where peace and security yet dwell; where man “ can look at his brother man, without fear and “ without suspicion.” One must have been four years in France, in the midst of Constitutionalists, Girondists, Maratists, Jacobins of every description, to feel the calmness, the delightful satisfaction of every priest who reached the coast of Great Britain. Transported at once from the regions of terror to the island of serenity and confidence, it seemed to them a new birth, the sweet awakening of the soul haunted by every monstrous image, among objects so heartening and peaceful. I know it by my own experience, and that of my brethren transported with me, that it is impossible to communicate the sensations and charms of this first rest of a man on leaving an empire under all the horrors of revolution, and finding himself in these happy regions under the peaceful influence of the laws. A habit of trouble and alarms had made the sight new to us. Our eyes beheld it, our hearts dwelt on it; we loved to see and admire it at every town and village on the road. We said to one another, “ How they look at us! seeming to say, “ What have you suffered? come and land where “ you have nothing to fear.” Those who could make us understand them actually said so, those who could not went to get interpreters. They said it by their gestures, their tears; while our tears flowed on this feeling people, and our hearts blessed God who had preserved them from misfortunes like ours. Every time a ship loaded with French priests

priests appeared on the coast, you would have said the instinct of benevolence carried it to the English ; they flocked to the port to receive us and offer us refreshment. We landed by fifties and hundreds. They seemed more concerned for supplying us than we ourselves were to be supplied. In towns where lodgings were not sufficient, they provided one common lodging for those who wanted money, where they were fed and visited, and their wants enquired after. Carriages were provided for them ; lords, ladies, citizens, paid their bills at inns, or all the way to London kept them at their country-seats to rest themselves, and gave them money, and said to those who did not want it, " It is for your brethren." Hundreds have desired me to name their benefactors in this history ; but it is the general benevolence of the nation itself. The detail of their favours would equal that of our misfortunes. Not content with this momentary relief, they provided for their continuance by those subscriptions which benevolence has, as it were, made natural to England. At London, as at Rome, many months before the general transportation, several priests had taken shelter from the storm. They were at first known only to the catholics. Their early benefactors who became first known to them, were a respectable priest, Mr. Meynel*, and Mrs. Silburn†. At the name of the latter all the French priests with uplifted hands implore the blessing of heaven on her, the first refuge of their brethren.

* A priest in a private family near London, descended from an antient Catholic family in Derbyshire or Yorkshire.

† The gentlewoman at whose house in London the bishop of St. Pol de Leon lodges ; who long employed her in distributing the allowance from the committee to the French ecclesiastics.

She was also the hostess of the first prophet sent before them to prepare the way of Providence among the most generous of nations. 400 louis had been raised for the first-landed priests. The care and attention of M. Lamarche, bishop of St. Pol de Leon, pointed him out as destined by God to be in some sort the bishop of the deportation. The day in which he heard of the decree he was at Wardour-castle; the royal family came to Lulworth castle, and he was presented to them. But he soon returned to London, to receive and procure resources for his brethren, who came over in crowds. His house, or rather that of the pious Shunamite of England, with whom he lodged, became the general rendezvous: the trumpets of benevolence sounded in London and the country; Mr. Burke's voice was heard; a subscription was set on foot; the English clergy, nobility, merchants, citizens of all ranks, sent relief to the distressed multitude. Mr. Wilmot, and his 60 companions in benevolence, formed a committee. All is foreseen and arranged. The priests flocked over for several months: Mrs. Silburn was necessarily employed in accommodating them out of her own fortune; took in and distributed the cloaths and linen sent to them. She understood not their language, but they all understood hers. It was the language of charity expressed in actions and sensibility. The bishop applied his whole thoughts to the relief of his brethren, and to obtain information of their various necessities. The committee met, and took an account, not so much of what had been done, as of what remained to be done; extending its concern to those in London, the several counties, and the isles of Jersey and Guernsey; and all England seemed to be engaged about them. No sooner was the subscription exhausted than it was renewed, and the king
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and the Government added to it with the noble spirit worthy the nation. Winchester rose out of its ruins. Other kings who filled the throne of George made it the palace of their magnificence; he found more glory in making it the retreat of 600 unhappy men. The archbishop of Canterbury offered his palace and his fortune to all the French bishops; almost all the English bishops and clergy seemed to forget the difference of opinions, and beheld only brethren in these legions of exiled priests. Their pulpits echoed with the most elegant and pathetic exhortations to their audience, to inspire them with the sentiments of generosity, admiration, and respect, which themselves felt. The soul of Fenelon seemed to actuate them. All that this pattern of universal benevolence had done for their English heroes, you would have said, they meant to repay to the French confessors. The Universities shared the glory with the clergy; that of Oxford has sent and has doubled benefits which announce the wealth of Plato and the heart of Socrates. Physicians gave their attendance without fee, and not a great or a rich man but shared his fortune with these new guests. Even the poor offered their mite; the sempstress gratuitously offers the labour of her hands; the seller of potatoes laments that the priests declined dealing with her again a second time, because she refused to take their money; and the milkwoman puts the gains of the day into their hands, and is lost in the crowd for fear of being seen. Children apply what has been given them for playthings. It is the subscription of innocence unacquainted with misfortune; but, being told these men have lost their all, it gives them all it has. Even a poor day-labourer at Mrs. Silburn's offered to maintain one of them by his labour. Happy the nation where such hearts are to
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be found ! Of 8000 priests who arrived in England not one wanted necessaries. The allowance to each was two guineas a month. From September 1792, to August 1, 1793, the subscription amounted to 32,000*l*. A collection appointed by Government raised 35,000*l*. In August, the expence amounted to 47,800*l*. at which time 1500 French priests in London, about 500 in the counties, 2200 at Jersey, and 600 in Winchester castle, in all 4808, fed, clothed, lodged, maintained in sickness and health, were supplied solely by this fund of English generosity ; and the number increased daily. Several, who at first maintained many of their brethren, unable to get over their revenues, were reduced to have recourse to the subscriptions. Add to the above sums 12,000*l*. in private contributions, not included in the committee's accounts, any more than the relief afforded by Lord Arundel and other English who maintained a number of the clergy in their houses.

The French laity were also relieved by a particular subscription, less, indeed, in proportion, because their wants and their case were less known, and unfortunately might appear, in many instances, equivocal. History will, doubtless, one day justify that of the true Royalists. To reproach them with not staying in France to serve the cause of Royalty, is forming no idea of the French revolution, or the way in which it was conducted from the first. All preparations for it were made in the most underhand manner. On a signal given, July 14, all the clubs issued at once from under ground. Above 300,000 men were armed in an instant. The greater part of the soldiers were gained, and the army disorganized. The clubs, instructed beforehand, had an eye on the gentry ; and, if they saw but three or four together, sent bands of ruffians to
disperse

disperse or murder them. These savage watchmen, as soon as they appeared, had their eyes every where, both in the towns and castles. All the arms, artillery, and arsenals, were in their hands in a moment. The genius of Bayard or Duguesclin would have been of no avail in the heart of France. All that the gentry could expect was the certainty of being massacred if they did not act the infamous part of democrats. Some might have concealed themselves with Gaston; a greater number would have created suspicion. Their true place was at Coblenz, when the emigrant princes arrived there; but other misfortunes and obstacles awaited them there. When the whole of constant and useless suffering during the campaign of the Prince of Brunswick is known, and all the impediments put in the way of the activity of the true French nobility, their courage will no longer be called in question. There were undoubtedly some unthinking young men, too little changed to have brought away such manners, such reserve, such good behaviour, as are of more consequence than courage; but there are many more, and their number increases by reflexion, who have distinguished themselves by a different conduct. The grateful sentiments of the priests did not prevent their seeing with concern a number of their brethren and fellow-citizens, who would have found more patronage if their cause had been better known, or their appearance better judged of. Another circumstance, in which Providence and the English nation favoured the French clergy, was, that whereas in England, but two years before their arrival, their religion alone, in the midst of many others, had groaned under the yoke of absolute intolerance, they found the mildest toleration, and a sufficient number of temples open to their piety. At this time the English, notwithstanding all their dis-

ference of worship, forgot the most inveterate hatred. They were all brethren, under the protection of the law, without envy or disputes; they left each other at liberty to follow the God of their conscience. The prelates and ministers of the Established Church proved to the emigrant clergy zealous benefactors; not one persecutor, not one who raised any obstacle. Among the Roman catholics they found men whose benevolence, as well as their faith, shewed them brethren. An edifying and zealous clergy cultivated this favoured portion of the church. Four bishops, distributed in the British empire under the name of vicars general, governed it by their virtues and examples more than by their authority, and did them every service in their power, by rendering the performance of their religious service easy, and informing them of the religious laws of the kingdom, to prevent every inconvenience that might arise from inexperience. Mr. Douglas, the bishop residing at London, assisted them with his advice as well as his charity. Thus Providence directed every relief of humanity and religion for the ecclesiastics who came to England. Ingratitude found no place in their hearts. The bishop de St. Pol was the interpreter of their gratitude. The nation received with sensibility his letter on this subject, worthy of his heart and his piety: if his expression fell short of his wishes, it is because such was the situation of the French priests in England, that it was as much out of the power of language to utter the extent and strength of their sentiments as it is to enumerate the benefits received. They owed to God another proof of their gratitude: in order to redouble the fervor of their devotion in their exile, they gave themselves up to the exercises of a spiritual retreat. It was a new sight in England, to behold them attending morning and

and evening, for eight days, on those exercises of piety, those holy meditations, those discourses which M. Beamgard, one of their principal preachers, was directed to deliver. In these retreats, three times renewed at London, they purified their hearts by repentance, and gave themselves up to sensations of gratitude to God and the English nation. At the close of each meeting, 1200 priests (all those who could that day join themselves to approach the holy table, and without interruption) received the communion from the hands of the apostolic vicar.

It is not enough to compare England, protecting so avowedly 8000 Roman catholic priests; and the French Jacobins, persecuting, murdering, or driving out, all these ministers of a religion which they pretended to leave untouched. October 19, landed at Brighthelmstone 39 French Benedictine nuns of Montargis, under their superior, Madame de Levis de Mirepoix. In the course of things, it was too much to permit them to live in England as they did in their monastery in the happiest day for religion. England proved, that oppressed Virtue and Piety could never presume too much on its favour. The Prince of Wales was there at the time; his goodness and clemency were an earnest of the protection they would experience. They were received with every mark of respect and generosity; and a peaceful retreat was assigned them, where they live in the tranquillity which the national goodness and character secure more than the law.

The overthrow of Religion being followed by that of Monarchy; to avenge them both, God has at this moment poured out all his scourges. France had been the scandal of Europe; she is now become the disgrace and abhorrence. The nations on the North and South press hard upon her, and

tread her under foot ; not so much to subdue as to confine her and prevent her devouring herself. Her monstrous sect is the wild beast surrounded in the forest to prevent his extending his ravages around ; the plague with a line drawn round it by the neighbouring nations that it may not infect them. Gaston makes war within ; York, Cobourg, and Frederic, on the frontiers. Unhappy empire ! itself were sufficient to complete its own destruction. There are no more great men in it, and the little ones are devouring one another. The first rebels are no more ; Mirabeau is dead ; the duke de la Rochefoucauld is assassinated ; Roberspierre has driven away Pethion ; Danton has crushed Condorcet ; Marat has imprisoned Brissot ; Danton is suspected by his ruffians ; and Marat is rotten. The Jacobins of the Gironde and Marseilles have taken up arms against the Jacobins of the Seine. These monsters bite, tear, and murder each other. Roberspierre remains alone among his ruffians, because there are no more executioners in France. Anarchy, corruption, murder, famine, wickedness, and the excess of madness, prevail universally. The people every where suffer, plunder, steal, murder, cry *liberty* ; and every where are the slaves of their banditti. Every where they cry *equality*, and every where are equally wretched. If we were to continue the history of the French revolution, such would be the frightful chaos which it offers to develope ! But who can develope the history of this Hell ? It is not, it cannot be known to us but by the victims which escape from it in spite of it. The demons who reign there are too proud to suffer any to come near them who can unveil their disorders, their confusion, their new crimes ; and shew them such as they are under the hand of an avenging God. The nations have
heard

heard enough, and I have said enough, to shew by what crimes, what horrors, the most impious of sects has called down these scourges. May the God, whom it has forced to pour them on my unhappy country, suffer himself to be at length entreated ! If the blood of his martyrs at first cried for vengeance, may it now cry for mercy ! These martyrs are our brethren, they will unite with these legions of priests whom they have left scattered on the earth. They will see us importune them, invoke and solicit them, to offer holy violence to our God. They were our friends ; our cause is the same ; they died for refusing the perjury of schism, heresy, and impiety. The decree of our exile alleges no other ; we recall it with confidence to our martyrs. May they unite their vows to ours ! and may their prayers be more effectual than the crimes of the wicked ! May the impious be converted ! may the happy days of France revive ! may her throne, her king, her queen, and her altars, be restored. Long has the vengeance of God on this unfortunate empire sounded in the ears of the nations. The lords of the earth are informed of it. Affrighted Europe has seen the plagues called down by the blasphemies of false wisdom. If the name of the impious, and the memory of their school, is yet preserved, it will be like the remembrance of a great plague, and armies of insects and venom, the offspring of corruption. A remembrance dearer to our annals, dearer to the priests of the Lord, will be that of the nations who received them, and of the kindness with which they loaded them."



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